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AUTHOR Trow, Martin
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ABSTRACT

Trends in American higher education between 1969 and 1975 are reported based on surveys in those two years by the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education. In general, the late 1960's saw widespread turbulence and disruption directed both at educational forms on campus and changes in American foreign policy. This movement was marked by a political swing to the left among college and university teachers and students. In 1972, with the end of the draft and direct American participation in military operations in Vietnam, the climate on campuses became less political, less radical, and centered more on teaching and studying. With the economic recession of 1975, the mood became more serious and students were more concerned with employment possibilities and vocationalism. This report reviews attitudes in the following areas: general satisfaction; trend toward conservatism on academic issues; broad social attitudes; race; other attitudes on social issues; attitudes toward women; faculty collective bargaining; numbers, rank, and tenure; faculty characteristics; student finances; and grade inflation. Statistical tables are included. (LBH)

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ASPECTS
OF
AMERICAN HIGHER EDUCATION
1969 - 1975

A Report for the
Carnegie Council on Policy Studies
in Higher Education

by

Martin Trow

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Aspects of American Higher Education 1969-1975

Martin Trow

In 1969, when the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education first began to gather information through broad national surveys of teachers, graduate students, and undergraduates in a large sample of American colleges and universities, ferment and turbulence in American higher education was at its height. The preceding few years had seen strikes, the occupation of buildings, and violent clashes between students and police on almost every major campus and on many of the smaller ones as well. Television and the newspapers were full of the sights and sounds of violence on college campuses.

Moreover, and in subtle ways related to the political disturbances, college and university enrollments, both nationally and in many individual institutions, had been growing very rapidly during the preceding decade: enrollments in higher education had more than doubled between 1959 and 1969. In the larger society, as on campus, the antiwar movement was growing, and there was disquiet among those concerned with civil liberties and the survival of democratic politics. The sense of national crisis as well as of rapid growth and change was almost tangible on the American college campuses.

By contrast, when the Carnegie Council for Policy Studies in Higher Education sponsored comparable surveys of American college teachers, graduates, and undergraduates in 1975, the emotional and political climate on campus had changed enormously. The war in southeast Asia had ended, and with it intense political ferment on the American campuses.

But a variety of social, economic, and demographic forces had led also to very marked declines in the rate of enrollment growth throughout American higher education. Indeed, the decline in some categories--for example of young white males--had begun in 1968 and by 1975 had declined very sharply, though masked in the overall enrollment figures by increased enrollments among members of minority groups, women, and older students. The clear decline in the rate of enrollment growth was accompanied by the very sharp economic recession in the United States and other countries throughout the world, a recession which was near its low point when the surveys of 1975 were in the field.

Both the surveys of 1969 and 1975 had been sponsored chiefly to provide first the Carnegie Commission and then the Carnegie Council with information about the conditions and attitudes of college and university teachers and students that it could use in developing various policy documents and recommendations. Secondarily, though importantly, the data thus collected are intended to be made available for more intensive analysis designed to shed light on basic and fundamental aspects of American higher education, its people and institutions. The first of these surveys has already been subjected to a considerable analysis.[1/] The initiation of the second set of surveys in 1975, with the same

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[1/] See Martin Trow, ed., Teachers and Students, New York, McGraw-Hill, 1975, and the references in the Introduction and Acknowledgments to that volume, for some of the analyses of those data that have been published.

director and several members of the research team that had done the 1969 surveys,[2/] made it possible to design the second surveys to use information in some cases directly comparable to that gathered in 1969 and therefore potentially useful in the study of changes--in the conditions and attitudes of these groups--between 1969 and 1975. We would, of course, expect some changes, especially in light of the drastically changed conditions of the academic profession, of students, of the institutions of higher education, and the economy, between the two surveys. But having said that, it is not quite clear just what those changes have been, how large they are, or in what parts of our enormous and diverse system of higher education they are most pronounced or most visible.

The popular view of what has been happening on American campuses in recent years may be summarized briefly: for a period of seven or eight years in the 1960s and early 1970s, starting in Berkeley in 1964, there was widespread turbulence and disruption directed both at educational forms on campus and changes in American policy overseas, and especially aimed at the ending of our military involvement in southeast Asia. This broad movement was marked by a political swing to the Left among college and university teachers and students. In 1972, with the end of the draft and direct American participation in military operations in Vietnam, the climate on campus changed sharply: it became less political, less radical, and centered more on teaching and studying. In addition, in the face of the sharp economic recession of 1975, the mood on campus

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[2/] Oliver Fulton, Co-Director, and Judy Roizen, Associate Director of the 1975 surveys, were also members of the 1969 surveys team.

became rather more sober and serious. Students became increasingly anxious about the dangers of unemployment after earning their degree, and therefore they began to enroll in increasing numbers in courses and fields that could promise some assurance of their getting jobs upon graduation. This "new vocationalism" of college students, so this picture goes, was at marked variance with the bold experimentation of the generation of the late 1960s, which had centered its interests on social and educational reform and innovation.

There is, of course, more than a grain of truth in this picture, as we noted earlier. American colleges and universities in 1975 were quieter places than they were in 1969; there were fewer demonstrations and more signs of readiness to accept academic discipline. But reality is a good deal more complicated than this picture suggests. Teachers and students had, in some areas of behavior and attitude, not changed their views very much between 1969 and 1975. In other areas, they have become rather more liberal or permissive over these last few years, and in still others they have become more conservative. The picture of higher education that we are able to draw is both more varied and in some cases more surprising than the contemporary image--but perhaps that is to be expected of any part of contemporary life at which one looks very closely.

General satisfaction

In 1968, a time of considerable turbulence and what appeared to be great student discontent, we observed "that very little of (that discontent) was directed at institutions (of higher education), at the curriculum within them, or even at the various administrative rules by which they were governed." To the statement, "Most undergraduates at my college

are satisfied with the education they are getting," 71 percent of all undergraduates in 1969 agreed, either strongly or with reservations. Six years later, another large sample of undergraduates replied to this question in almost exactly the same proportions (Taole 1). When asked more directly, "What is your overall evaluation of your college?" 66 percent of undergraduates said they were satisfied or very satisfied in 1969, and only 12 percent were "dissatisfied or very dissatisfied." The rest were "on the fence" (Table 2). In 1975 comparable responses to that question were 71 percent satisfied and 9 percent dissatisfied. Almost exactly the same proportions of undergraduates both in 1969 and 1975 expressed themselves as satisfied with "the quality of classroom instruction in their college." When asked a similar question, "I am basically satisfied with the education I am getting," graduate students showed a similar pattern of response--77 percent in 1969 and 70 percent in 1975 expressing their agreement either strongly or with reservations. And when faculty members were asked about their perceptions of student satisfaction, the proportion saying that their students were basically satisfied with the education they were getting was only a little higher than the student expression of satisfaction--75 percent of college and university teachers in 1969 and 88 percent in 1975 saying that they agreed strongly or with reservations. In all cases, and in both years, the proportions expressing strong dissatisfaction were under 10 percent, and for the most part under 6 percent.

One conclusion that we can draw from these figures is that the anger that was expressed through the turbulence and student activism of the 1960s was, first, not nearly so widespread among individual students as the media led us to believe at that time. Secondly, it was not, on the whole, directed at the institutions where it was taking place, but against American foreign policy

and especially against the war and the draft. This was perhaps obscured by recurrent efforts on the part of militant leaders to use local academic issues as a way of organizing and mobilizing discontent behind political slogans and programs.

We cannot draw from these figures the lesson that there are no grounds for dissatisfaction with American higher education or that nothing ought to be reformed or improved. On the other hand, the appearance of the absence of discontent on American campuses today should not give us any great grounds for complacency, just as the misleading appearance of widespread discontent in 1969 should not have been the basis for some of the hasty innovations that were introduced at that time.

The trend toward conservatism on academic issues

The area in which we find a distinct tendency toward more conservative positions than were held in 1969 is that of academic policy and practice. For example, a substantial majority of undergraduates in 1969 agreed, strongly or with reservations, with the proposition that "Undergraduate education in America would be improved if grades were abolished." That proportion (59 percent in 1969) fell to 32 percent by 1975. Among faculty members agreement with the same question fell from one-third (34 percent) to one-fifth (19 percent) in the same period (Table 3). Similarly, agreement with the proposition that "undergraduate education would be improved if all courses were elective" fell among undergraduates from 51 to 35 percent and among faculty from 21 to 13 percent between 1969 and 1975 (Table 3). Changes in the attitudes toward academic work have not, on the whole, been very large but they've been consistent on a number of different issues. For example,

when students were asked what things are most important for them to get in college, they were slightly more likely in 1975 to say "training in skills for an occupation" and "a detailed grasp of a special field" than they were in 1969 and slightly less likely to answer "learning to get along with people" and "formulating the values and goals of my life." They are almost exactly equally likely to reply "a well rounded general education" (Table 4). Slightly more conservative, or at least more traditional, views are reflected in responses to the question "Would you agree or disagree that a professor's teaching inevitably reflects his political values?" In 1969, half the undergraduates agreed with that, strongly or with reservations, but by 1975, the proportion who believed in the inevitable reflection of politics in teaching had fallen to 42 percent. Among the teachers themselves over that period the proportion agreeing with the statement "In my subject a person's teaching and research inevitably reflect his or her political values" had fallen from 40 to 30 percent, also reflecting a more traditional belief in the possibilities of insulating academic work from personal political values. While we do not have evidence of the distribution of these attitudes in the decades before 1969, there is strong reason to believe that by the late 1960s the belief in the necessary connections between politics and science and scholarship had reached a high point, and that a decline in these figures reflects some return to more traditional notions of the possibilities of objectivity in both teaching and research.

There seems to be a sense, too, in which traditional and academic values are reflected in attitudes toward teaching and research as the basis for promotion of faculty. The thing to note on this issue is the extraordinarily high proportions of students and faculty alike who believe

that "teaching effectiveness," not publications, should be the primary criterion for promotion of faculty (Table 5). The proportions of undergraduates, both in 1969 and 1975, agreeing with that statement were in the order of 95 percent. Among graduate students, about 90 percent agreed both years. Among faculty, perhaps surprisingly, the proportions in 1969 were almost as high--86 percent agreeing rather strongly, though with reservations. By 1975 that proportion had fallen somewhat to 76 percent, still an overwhelming majority, but somewhat less than in the earlier survey. There is reason to believe that the swing back from the late 1960s toward more traditional academic values has somewhat strengthened the position of research on campus, or, looked at in another way, has at least in some institutions strengthened the claims of research and scholarship over against the claims of the students for teaching as the first priority.

Broad social attitudes

If faculty and students have swung back moderately to more traditional academic attitudes and positions, on other, even more fundamental values, there has been remarkably little change on the college campuses between 1969 and 1975. For example, many surveys have shown that Americans profess a higher level of religious commitment than do members of any other major industrial society, and rank behind only the people of India among the peoples of all nations in the world. (See, for example, the Gallup Poll, October 1976). On campus, as in the larger society, there appears to be little support for those who a decade ago were predicting the end of American religious commitments under the weight of secularism. Moreover, American religious life in recent years has seen sweeping changes in the organization and forms of worship in the Catholic church, as well

as a wave of Protestant evangelical activity in which youth has figured prominently, and a return to forms of orthodoxy among significant sections of Jewish youth. Nevertheless, the picture of religious identifications and beliefs on campus seems largely unaffected by these theological currents.

For example, to the statement "I believe in a God who judges men," three-quarters of the undergraduates polled in 1969 agreed, strongly or with reservations; in 1975 the proportion was almost identical (76 percent) (Table 6). In response to the statement "I am basically conservative in my religious beliefs" almost exactly the same proportion (46 percent) of graduate students agreed in 1975 as in 1969. The proportion of faculty in agreement with that statement was about the same in the two years--at about 43 percent. Only a third of either the graduate students or faculty disagreed strongly with the statement that they are basically conservative in their religious beliefs (Table 7).

Again, to the question "Do you consider yourself deeply religious, moderately religious, largely indifferent, or basically opposed to religion," the distribution among students and faculty has been almost unchanged since 1969. Among graduate students, the proportion calling themselves deeply or moderately religious has remained at a little over two-thirds; among faculty, those giving these two responses has fallen slightly from 69 percent to 63 percent (Table 8).

The picture with respect to political values and identifications is similar. One can hardly find a six-year period in the political life of this country that has shown greater turbulence and swings of opinion and sentiment. And yet here, too, our samples in American colleges and universities show a remarkable stability in their basic political

identifications over this period of time. When we asked both students and faculty members, "how would you characterize yourself politically at the present time?" and offered them a five-point scale from "left" to "strongly conservative" along which they could locate themselves, the different groups (a) showed very similar distributions, and (b) showed astonishing stability in their identifications from 1969 to 1975 (Table 9). If we combine the proportions who call themselves "left" (no more than 1 in 20 in any of our groups called themselves "left" in 1969, and it was no higher in 1975) and those who call themselves "liberal," we see that the proportion of undergraduates in those two categories together fell from 44 to 35 percent between 1969 and 1975; among graduate students the proportion in those two categories was constant at 43 percent, and among faculty it was constant at about 41 percent over the two time periods. The stability in the other categories of political self-identification was equally great: a very few percent in any group at any time called themselves "moderately conservative"; and a little over a quarter "middle of the road."

The events on American college and university campuses in the late 1960s were serious and important, but to a very considerable degree they were media events; their effects and larger significance were almost certainly exaggerated at the time and continue to be in retrospective discussions of that period. This is not the place to attempt a sober assessment of the impact of the war and reactions to the war in Vietnam on American colleges and universities. But it is not inappropriate in the face of these new survey data to be reminded that American colleges and universities have been marked more by stability in the basic attitudes and values of their students and teachers than they have been by any discontinuous or great changes.

Race

Academic attitudes toward minorities have been remarkably ambivalent over the six-year period, though there is some evidence of the strengthening of traditional academic values in some areas in recent years. About two out of five undergraduates polled, one-third of the graduate students, but only one-fourth of the faculty agree that "any special academic program for black students should be administered and controlled by black people" (Table 10-b) and these proportions were almost identical in 1969 and 1975. The idea of a program which is, in principle, controlled by a racial group obviously smacks of that same racism that so many academics have opposed in the past. By contrast, three-quarters of college and university teachers agreed that "any institution with a substantial number of black students should offer a program of Black Studies if they wish it," and the proportions on this issue rose slightly between 1969 and 1975 (Table 10-c). To offer a program of ethnic studies is one thing; to accept racial criteria for administering it is quite another. But attitudes have shifted somewhat on the issues of special minority admissions and faculty appointments, reflecting a renewed strength of traditional academic and liberal values on these issues. The proportions agreeing, even with some reservations, to the statement: "more minority group undergraduates should be admitted to my college even if it means relaxing normal academic standards of admission," have fallen from 29 percent to 22 percent among undergraduates, from 37 percent to 20 percent among graduate students, and from 37 percent to 27 percent among faculty members between 1969 and 1975 (Table 10-d). Support for this position was a minority one even in 1969, and it is even less popular now. It is true, however, that the statement reads: "more minority group

undergraduates should be admitted . . ." and therefore does not preclude disagreement even among those who believe that the present number so admitted (whatever it may be) is the right number--that is, it doesn't touch the principle of special admissions criteria for special racial or ethnic groups. That issue is addressed more directly in connection with faculty appointments through the statement: "The normal academic requirements should be relaxed in appointing members of minority groups to the faculty (here) (of my college)." The proportions agreeing with that statement are quite low in both time periods and among all groups; but, as low as it was, it fell sharply between 1969 and 1975, from 24 percent to 13 percent among undergraduates, from 19 percent to 14 percent among graduate students, and from 20 percent to 12 percent among the faculty members who were most directly concerned (Table 10-e). Both the low levels of support for that position, and the tendency for it to be going even lower, are indications of the persistent strength of the academic values of "universalism"--that is, of emphasis on a person's work and achievement when one is making academic appointments rather than on his race or other personal characteristics. That principle may, in fact, be honored quite often in the breach under the pressure of Affirmative Action or exaggerated interpretations of its requirements. Nevertheless, those values are in place and can be appealed to in the face of calls for discrimination from whatever source.

But having noted that, it is not so clear what our respondents have in mind when between one-third and one-half of them agree that "most American colleges and universities are racist whether they mean to be or not" (Table 10-a). And the proportions agreeing with that statement have risen slightly among both graduate students and faculty members since 1969.

On the broad question of education and integration, however, college students and teachers are distinctly more "liberal" than the general population. On the issue of whether "racial integration at the public elementary schools should be achieved even if it requires busing," polls have shown overwhelming opposition in the general population, both North and South. But among college and university teachers, over one-third (38 percent) agree with that position, strongly or with reservations, although that proportion has declined somewhat from the 43 percent in agreement with it in 1969 (Table 11). Among undergraduates who more closely reflect the general population in its attitudes, the proportions agreeing with that statement fell from 36 percent to 26 percent between 1969 and 1975, while among graduate students it remained relatively quite high, falling only slightly from 43 percent to 38 percent in that period.

Other attitudes on social issues

Part of the difficulty of capturing in a phrase or slogan the broad movement of sentiments and attitudes of college students and teachers over the past six years is that it has been inconsistent. We have already pointed to some areas in which the trend has been moderately conservative, other areas where there has been little or no change since 1969, and again others in which views have become somewhat more liberal or permissive. For example, views on campus toward the possession and use of marijuana have become much more permissive over the past six years, perhaps reflecting, perhaps in part causing, the movement toward decriminalizing the possession of that drug. To the statement "Marijuana should be legalized," in 1969 (not a particularly repressive year) only 30 percent of faculty, 36 percent of graduate students and 46 percent of undergraduates agreed with the

statement with or without reservations. By 1975 those proportions had risen to 50 percent among faculty, 56 percent among graduate students, and 55 percent among undergraduates (Table 12). When we turn to the use of marijuana on campus, the shift is equally large, especially among faculty. To the statement "Undergraduates known to use marijuana regularly should be suspended or dismissed," the proportion of faculty members who expressed agreement fell by more than half, from 58 percent to 26 percent between 1969 and 1975. Among undergraduates, the comparable proportions fell from about one-third to one-fifth of undergraduate respondents (Table 13).

But attitudes toward marijuana were not part of a general movement toward more liberal or permissive positions with respect to forms of crime or violence. For example, the proportions who supported the abolition of capital punishment fell among undergraduates (the only group we asked) from 60 percent to 36 percent between 1969 and 1975 (Table 14). Similarly, on the important question summarized by the statement, "In the United States today there can be no justification for using violence to achieve political goals," the proportion in agreement rose from a high 75 percent among both undergraduates and their teachers in 1969 to an even higher 85 percent among the same groups in 1975 (Table 15).

In two other important subjects, the attitudes of both students and teachers moved in a more liberal direction between 1969 and 1975. One of these subjects was women on campus; the other was collective bargaining by college and university teachers.

Attitudes toward women

Attitudes toward women on campus reflected, and perhaps led, changes in the attitudes toward women in the larger society.

Whatever had been the case in earlier decades, by 1969 open expression of prejudice against women or doubts about the intellectual abilities and commitments of women were rare and unpopular on most campuses. When asked their views regarding the statement, "The female graduate students in my department are not as dedicated as the males," only one college teacher in five expressed agreement, even with reservations, in 1969. Half of them expressed strong disagreement. Almost exactly the same proportions of graduate students held those views in that year. By 1975, the trend had gone even further: fewer than one in ten (8 percent) of faculty or graduate students agreed with that statement, while two-thirds of the teachers and three-quarters of the graduate students expressed strong disagreement (Table 16). When the graduate students were presented with the further statement, "Professors in my department don't really take female graduate students seriously," only one in six agreed with the statement in 1975 as compared with one in five in 1969. When we look just at the 1975 survey we see that faculty members are now almost unanimous in agreeing that, as compared with men, women graduate students are (a) as intellectually competent and (b) as imaginative. The great majority also believe that women "are as likely to finish their degrees" and also "as likely to make important contributions to their fields," but here the proportions are somewhat lower--about 85 percent of college and university teachers agree with these statements either strongly or with reservations, but about one-third do so with reservations, leaving only one-half or a little more who hold those views without any reservations at

all. Those are, of course, more factual questions and need not reflect views about the talents or abilities of women. Nevertheless, it is hard to believe that if a significant proportion of college and university teachers have reservations about the likelihood of women graduate students finishing their degrees and doing important work, they are as likely to give them the kind of attention and challenge that they give the men. This is not at all necessarily an aspect of traditional prejudices, but is a natural reaction to what may still be factual differences in the careers of men and women, and we might note that a significant number of graduate students share these reservations. There would need to be changes in the career patterns--and thus the likelihood of graduate studies being put to professional and scientific use--before all faculty members will teach their students without regard to their sex, whatever they may say in response to questions in surveys.

Faculty collective bargaining

There has been much talk over the past few years about the rise of collective bargaining among college and university teachers, and even some tendencies in that direction. But the great majority of American college and university teachers are not now covered by collective bargaining contracts, and, where it has been introduced, collective bargaining has been almost wholly confined to public two- and four-year colleges. And even there, it has been established very often under the stimulus of state legislation which encourages or mandates collective bargaining by state employees.

Nevertheless, the attitudes of college and university teachers are on the whole favorable to the idea of collective bargaining, for others

if not for themselves, and have become somewhat more favorable since 1969. To the statement, "Collective bargaining by faculty members has no place in a college or university," the proportion agreeing, even with reservations, fell from 38 percent to 28 percent between 1969 and 1975; even in the big research universities, almost none of which have collective bargaining agreements for their teaching faculty, only about one-third would say "it has no place" in higher education (Table 17). Two out of three faculty members in 1975 agree that they "should be more militant in defending their interests," (Table 17) up from 55 percent in 1969. And about the same proportion (61 percent) are prepared to agree that "there are circumstances in which a strike would be a legitimate means of collective action by faculty members," up from 47 percent in 1969 (Table 18). Again, these tough, even militant views are expressed by college and university teachers--the majority of whom are not unionized, and many of whom have rejected chances to become so. Nevertheless, the view they hold on union organization and collective bargaining for academics are not, on the whole, incompatible with collective bargaining for themselves. Indeed, over three-quarters of college and university teachers believe, with or without reservations, that collective bargaining by faculty members "is likely to bring higher salaries and improved benefits"; only 5 percent disagree strongly with that statement (Table 19) and that belief surely expresses a disposition toward collective bargaining. Nevertheless, many faculty members--clearly still a majority--have some reservations. Moreover, these questions do not reveal what they believe they might lose, or what in their universities or in their situations might suffer, with the advent of collective bargaining. Certainly most institutions of higher education have as yet shown no propensity

to rush into collective bargaining, especially where the goad or stimulus of state law has not yet been applied.

Numbers, rank, and tenure

The population of both faculty members and students had changed both in size and other characteristics, over the six years between our two surveys. The number of college and university teachers had grown from 546,000 to 654,000; graduate students from 955,000 to 1,263,000; and of undergraduates from 6,487,000 to 8,632,000. While these numbers mark an appreciable growth of the system in six years, it is a slower rate of growth than in the preceding decade. The numbers foreshadow even slower growth rates in the decade between 1975 and 1985. Moreover, during these years a disproportionate amount of growth took place in two-year or community colleges. In several of our categories of college and universities there was little or no growth during this period.

Faculty characteristics

If we look first at faculty members, we see that, in 1975, they are on average of higher rank and are more likely to have tenure than in 1969 (Tables 20, 21). Just half of all the college and university teachers in our sample held the rank of associate or full professor in 1975 as compared with only 41 percent six years earlier. Proportions holding tenure had grown appreciably, from 49 percent in 1969 to 57 percent in 1975: in the universities that proportion was up to about 60 percent from about 50 percent in 1969.

For all the talk in recent years about de-emphasizing research and re-emphasizing teaching, faculty in our sample in 1975 show a markedly greater inclination to write and publish than did academics in 1969. In

1969 nearly three-quarters of all college and university teachers reported that they had never published or edited a book or monograph. By 1975 that figure was down to two-thirds. Two-thirds of all faculty members in 1969 had not published any kind of professional writing in the previous two years; in 1975 that figure was just one-half. In 1969 half the faculty agreed that "I hardly ever get time to give a piece of work the attention it deserves"; in 1975 that figure was 39 percent (Tables 22, 23). In 1969 about half of all college and university teachers were engaged in work that they expected to lead to publication; by 1975 that figure was 62 percent. And when asked whether their interest lay primarily in teaching or research, the great majority in 1975, as in 1969, still said "teaching," but the proportion who said "research" had risen from 15 percent to 25 percent, a very significant increase in that period.

It is hard to know just how to account for the rise in scholarly and scientific writing and research interests among academics. It may be that the disturbances of the late 1960s were a significant distraction from academic work for many college and university teachers. It may also be that the populist mood and slogans of that time tended to pressure teachers into spending more time--or at least in expressing greater interest in doing so--in teaching rather than in research. (One can remember the bitter attacks on much research in the natural and social sciences as somehow allied or contributing to the unpopular war in Vietnam). Or it may be that a more competitive market, both for appointments and promotions, is leading academics to get on with the work that still governs the careers of many. In any event, there has been a sharp increase in the proportion of academics who perceive the need for publication. The proportion agreeing that "in my department it is very difficult for a person to achieve tenure if he does not publish" grew between 1969 and 1975 from 27 percent to

46 percent, and the proportion who strongly disagreed declined from nearly one-half to one-third of college and university teachers. It seems probable that it is just more difficult to gain tenure in institutions and a system that is no longer growing rapidly or at all, and that among all the criteria by which candidates for tenure are assessed, publication as well as teaching and "service," are being assessed more severely.

Student finances

We can hardly review the state of higher education today without some reference to the effects of rising inflation, tuition, and living costs on the ability to students to finance their college careers. This has, however, been balanced off, to some extent, by the extension of federal grants and loans. In the case of graduate students, however, there is considerable reason to believe that the number of graduate teaching and research assistantships are fewer than they were in 1969. In any event, one question asked both in 1969 and 1975 gives us some basis for assessing the judgment of the students themselves about their own financial situations. Graduate students were asked both in 1969 and 1975 "How adequate are your finances to your present needs?" In 1969 just 24 percent of graduate students replied "inadequate" or "very inadequate"; by 1975 the proportion giving those two responses was 30 percent. Only 5 percent in 1969 and 7 percent in 1975, however, said that their finances were "very inadequate" to their needs. A larger proportion of undergraduates expressed concern about their finances. When they were presented with the same statement "My finances are adequate to my present needs," over one-third (36 percent) agreed either strongly or with reservations in 1969; that proportion had risen to 45 percent in 1975. Fully one-fourth of all undergraduates in

1975 expressed strong disagreement with the statement that their finances were adequate to their present needs.

But there is a broad subjective element in the assessment by students (as by anybody else) of their economic circumstances in relation to their own conception of their needs. For example, when presented with the statement "I am going deeply into debt to finance my graduate studies," fully a quarter of all graduate students in 1975 expressed agreement with that statement and 11 percent expressed strong agreement. In response to another question asking specifically how much a student has had to borrow since entering graduate school to pay for expenses directly related to his or her education apart from loans from friends or family, only 13 percent of all graduate students reported that they have had to borrow over $2,000 from other than friends or family to pay for their educational expenses. Nearly three-fourths reported that they hadn't borrowed anything from other than friends or family. About a quarter of the graduate students in 1975 agree that "lack of funds is slowing my progress toward my degree," although only 11 percent agree strongly, the others with reservations. And when asked whether they thought that "lack of finances are likely to prevent you from completing your graduate work?" only 6 percent answered unequivocally "yes" while another 22 percent said "maybe." When we compare the sources of support for graduate students in 1969 and 1975, similarities are greater than the differences. The proportions who mention fellowships and scholarships as a source of support is roughly constant at about 14 percent. The proportion who mention aid from parents is about the same--15 percent to 18 percent. The proportion who mention governmental bank loans or institutional loans has risen from about 11 percent to 15 percent. The marked differences are the proportions who mention teaching or research assistantships--

28 percent in 1969 but only 17 percent in 1975. Conversely, in both years about the same proportion--about one-third--of the graduate students mention nonacademic jobs as a source of income, and between one-fourth and one-third mention their spouse's job. But more, 36 percent as compared to 29 percent, are drawing on savings now as compared to six years earlier. In 1975 we also asked which of these sources was the primary source, and the three most frequently mentioned were the nonacademic job, the spouse's job, and some academic job other than a teaching research or assistantship. Something over 57 percent mention one of these three categories as the primary source of their support for graduate studies. If we add assistantships, we come up to 68 percent and if we add fellowships and scholarships, we account for the primary source of support of three-quarters of all the graduate students.

For all the discussion of student loans and federal support for those loans, they are, taken together, a relatively minor factor in the support of graduate students. Even if we include loans from family or friends together with government or bank loans and loans from their own institutions, only about 15 percent mention getting them at all, and only about 5 percent mention any of them as a primary source of their support while in graduate school. Similarly, the decline in the support of teaching and research assistantships has been a relatively small factor overall. Where 17 percent mentioned them as a primary source of support in 1969, 11 percent of them did in 1975, and there was very little change in the proportions who mentioned fellowships and scholarships--about 8 percent in both years. The decline in assistantships may actually have greater educational consequences--both in the opportunities for graduate students to get experience teaching and to work closely with faculty members on research, and in the

effects that fewer teaching assistants have on the education of undergraduates in the big universities which employ teaching assistants.

Grade inflation

One other aspect of the life of undergraduates deserves attention. We have dramatic evidence of the inflation of grades over the past six or seven years. In 1969 only 18 percent of undergraduates reported having a cumulative grade-point average of B+ or better. By 1975 that proportion had just doubled to 36 percent. Nearly three out of five undergraduates in 1975 reported a B or better average, as compared with a little more than one in three (35.5 percent) in 1969. Among graduate students, grade inflation is clear if not yet as dramatic: 54 percent in 1975 as compared with 40 percent in 1969 claiming an average of B+ or better in their graduate work (Table 24). Faculty members are at least aware of the problem; nearly 80 percent agree that "in the past few years, grading standards in undergraduate courses here have become less rigorous," and over three-quarters of the teachers in all kinds of colleges and universities agree that "inflation of undergraduate grades is becoming a serious problem."

Table 1. Perceptions of undergraduate satisfaction, 1969 and 1975

(percentages of undergraduates and faculty)

Question: Most undergraduates at my college are satisfied with the education they are getting	Undergraduates		Faculty	
	1969	1975	1969	1975
Strongly agree	12	12	13	9
Agree with reservations	59	60	63	59
Disagree with reservations	23	22	19	26
Strongly disagree	6	6	5	6

Table 2. Percentages of undergraduates satisfied and dissatisfied with their colleges, 1969-1975

Question: What is your overall evaluation of your college?	1969	1975
Very satisfied	19	19
Satisfied	47	52
On the fence	22	20
Dissatisfied	9	7
Very dissatisfied	3	2

Table 3. Undergraduate and faculty views on proposed reforms in higher education (percentages), 1969 and 1975

Question: Undergraduate education in America would be improved if:	Undergraduates		Faculty	
	1969	1975	1969	1975
a. Grades were abolished				
Strongly agree	24	10	10	5
Agree with reservations	36	22	24	14
Disagree with reservations	26	34	32	26
Strongly disagree	14	34	34	55
b. All courses were electives				
Strongly agree	19	11	5	3
Agree with reservations	32	24	16	10
Disagree with reservations	32	36	30	27
Strongly disagree	17	29	49	60

Table 4. Undergraduates' objectives (in percentages), 1969 and 1975

Question: People want different things from college. Please indicate how important it is for you to get each of the following at college:	Essential		Fairly important		Not important	
	1969	1975	1969	1975	1969	1975
a. A detailed ~~group~~ study of a special field	62	68	34	28	4	4
b. A well-rounded education*	57	57	39	40	3	3
c. Training and skills for an occupation*	57	67	33	27	10	5
d. Learning to get along with people	77	66	21	30	2	4
e. Formulating the values and goals of my life	72	62	24	31	3	7

*Figures do not add to 100 due to rounding.

Table 5. Views of undergraduates, graduate students, and faculty members (in percentages) on teaching vs. publication as a basis for faculty promotion, 1969 and 1975

Question: Teaching effectiveness, not publications, should be the primary criterion for promotion of faculty	Undergraduates		Graduate students		Faculty	
	1969	1975	1969	1975	1969	1975
Strongly agree	67	57	54	60	45	40
Agree with reservations	28	37	36	32	41	36
Disagree with reservations	4	6	10	7	12	18
Strongly disagree	*	*	*	1	2	6

*Less than 1 percent.

Table 6. Undergraduates' belief in God, 1969 and 1975 (percentages)

Question: I believe there is a God who judges men.	1969	1975
Strongly agree	51	53
Agree with reservations	24	23
Disagree with reservations	11	11
Strongly disagree	14	13

Table 7. Percentages of faculty and graduate students who judge themselves conservative in their religious beliefs, 1969 and 1975

Question: I am basically conservative in my religious beliefs.	Graduate students		Faculty	
	1969	1975	1969*	1975
Strongly agree	16	17	43	18
Agree with reservations	30	29		27
Disagree with reservations	23	21	57	20
Strongly disagree	31	33		35

*In 1969 the question for faculty was "Would you describe yourself as conservative in your religious beliefs? It required only a "yes" or "no" response.

Table 8. Percentages of undergraduates, graduate students and faculty who consider themselves deeply religious, moderately religious, largely indifferent, or basically opposed to religion, 1969-1975

	Undergraduates		Graduate students		Faculty	
	1969*	1975	1969	1975	1969	1975
Deeply religious		15	16	13	18	16
Moderately religious		56	49	49	51	47
Largely indifferent		25	29	31	24	31
Basically opposed to religion		4	6	7	7	6

*Not asked in 1969.

Table 9. Percentages of undergraduates, graduate students, and faculty who regard themselves politically "left," "liberal," "middle-of-the-road," "moderately conservative," or "strongly conservative," 1969 and 1975

	Undergraduates		Graduate students		Faculty	
	1969	1975	1969	1975	1969	1975
Left	5	3	6	6	4	5
Liberal	39	32	37	37	37	36
Middle-of-the-road	37	39	28	30	29	28
Moderately conservative	17	23	25	24	27	28
Strongly conservative	2	3	4	3	3	3

Table 10. Percentages of undergraduates, graduate students, and faculty members who agree or disagree on propositions related to participation of members of social minorities in higher education

	Undergraduates		Graduate students		Faculty	
	1969	1975	1969	1975	1969	1975
a. Most American colleges and universities are racist whether they mean to be or not						
Strongly agree	11	6	9	11	11	12
Agree with reservations	32	21	28	32	25	32
Disagree with reservations	41	44	38	39	36	34
Strongly disagree	15	29	26	17	28	22
b. Any special academic program for black students should be administered and controlled by black people						
Strongly agree	12	10	5	5	4	4
Agree with reservations	32	30	26	26	21	21
Disagree with reservations	36	35	41	44	38	41
Strongly disagree	20	25	28	25	37	34
c. Any institution with a substantial number of black students should offer a program of black studies if they wish it						
Strongly agree	50	49	31	*	27	38
Agree with reservations	38	38	42	*	42	38
Disagree with reservations	7	8	17	*	19	16
Strongly disagree	5	5	10	*	12	8

(Table continued on next page)

Table 10, continued

	Undergraduates		Graduate students		Faculty	
	1969	1975	1969	1975	1969	1975
d. More minority group undergraduates should be admitted to my college even if it means relaxing normal academic standards of admission						
Strongly agree	7	6	11	4	11	5
Agree with reservations	22	16	26	16	26	22
Disagree with reservations	32	27	24	27	30	29
Strongly disagree	39	51	39	53	33	44
e. The normal academic requirements should be relaxed in appointing members of minority groups to the faculty**						
Strongly agree	5	3	4	3	4	2
Agree with reservations	19	10	15	11	16	10
Disagree with reservations	33	23	26	29	27	27
Strongly disagree	43	63	55	57	53	61

*Not asked in 1975.

**In 1975, this sentence was completed by the words "of my college" in the undergraduate questionnaire, and by the word "here" in the graduate student and faculty questionnaires.

Table 11. Percentages of undergraduates, graduate students, and faculty agreeing that racial integration of public elementary schools should be achieved even if it requires busing, 1969 and 1975

	Undergraduates		Graduate students		Faculty	
	1969	1975	1969	1975	1969	1975
Strongly agree	19	9	16	13	18	13
Agree with reservations	27	17	27	25	25	25
Disagree with reservations	31	30	30	30	31	28
Strongly disagree	22	44	27	32	26	34

Table 12. Percentages of undergraduates, graduate students, and faculty agreeing that marijuana should be legalized, 1969 and 1975

	Undergraduates		Graduate students		Faculty	
	1969	1975	1969	1975	1969	1975
Strongly agree	21	26	16	26	11	20
Agree with reservations	25	29	20	30	19	30
Disagree with reservations	20	16	22	17	21	21
Strongly disagree	34	29	42	27	49	29

Table 13. Percentages of undergraduates and faculty agreeing that undergraduates known to be using marijuana regularly should be suspended or dismissed, 1969 and 1975

	Undergraduates		Faculty	
	1969	1975	1969	1975
Strongly agree	14	9	33	11
Agree with reservations	19	11	25	15
Disagree with reservations	32	30	26	34
Strongly disagree	35	50	16	40

Table 14. Percentage of undergraduates who agree or disagree that capital punishment should be abolished, 1969 and 1975

	1969	1975
Strongly agree	39	20
Agree with reservations	21	16
Disagree with reservations	24	25
Strongly disagree	16	39

Table 15. Percentage of undergraduates, graduate students, and faculty who agree or disagree that "in the USA today there can be no justification for using violence to achieve political goals," 1969 and 1975

	Undergraduates		Graduate students		Faculty	
	1969	1975	1969	1975	1969	1975
Strongly agree	45	67	51		49	60
Agree with reservations	30	23	31		25	25
Disagree with reservations	19	9	15		18	12
Strongly disagree	6	4	3		8	3

Table 16. Percentage of graduate students and faculty who agree or disagree that "the female graduate students in my department are not as dedicated to the field* as males," 1969 and 1975

	Undergraduates		Graduate students		Faculty	
	1969	1975	1969	1975	1969	1975
Strongly agree			5	2	5	2
Agree with reservations			16	6	15	6
Disagree with reservations			32	18	31	25
Strongly disagree			47	74	49	67

*The phrase "to the field" was not included in faculty questionnaire.

Table 17. Percentage of faculty agreeing or disagreeing with two propositions involving academic collective bargaining, 1969 and 1975

	1969	1975
a. Collective bargaining by faculty members has no place in a college or university		
Strongly agree	16	11
Agree with reservations	22	17
Disagree with reservations	37	35
Strongly disagree	25	37
b. Faculty members should be more militant in defending their interests		
Strongly agree	18	23
Agree with reservations	37	40
Disagree with reservations	31	26
Strongly disagree	14	11

Table 18. Percentage of faculty, graduate students, and undergraduates agreeing or disagreeing that there are circumstances in which a strike would be a legitimate means of collective action for faculty members, 1969-1975

	Undergraduates		Graduate students		Faculty	
	1969	1975	1969	1975	1969	1975
Strongly agree*	18	14	29		20	25
Agree with reservations	42	49	36		27	36
Disagree with reservations	25	25	21		32	19
Strongly disagree	15	12	14		22	20

*For graduate students and faculty in 1969, the choices were "definitely yes," "probably yes," "probably not," "definitely not."

Table 19. Percentage of faculty members who agree or disagree that collective bargaining by faculty is likely to bring higher salaries and improved benefits, 1975

Strongly agree	31
Agree with reservations	47
Disagree with reservations	17
Strongly disagree	5

Table 20. Percentage of faculty members in various academic ranks, 1975

Instructor	14
Assistant professor	28
Associate professor	24
Professor	26
Lecturer	3
No ranks designated	4
Other	1

Table 21. Percentage of faculty members with four types of appointments, 1975

Regular with tenure	57
Regular without tenure	38
Acting	2
Visiting	3

Table 22. Publishing activities of faculty members, 1969 and 1975 (in percentages)

	1969	1975
1. How many books or monographs have you published or edited, alone or in collaboration?		
None	74	66
1 to 2	19	24
3 to 4	4	6
5 or more	3	4
2. How many of your professional writings have been published or accepted for publication in the last two years?		
None	64	49
1 to 2	22	26
3 to 4	9	14
5 to 10	4	8
10 or more	1	3

Table 23. Percentage of faculty members who agree or disagree that "I hardly ever get the time to give a piece of work the attention it deserves," 1969 and 1975

	1969	1975
Strongly agree	13	9
Agree with reservations	37	30
Disagree with reservations	38	38
Strongly disagree	12	23

Table 24. Percentages of undergraduates and graduates receiving grades A through C or below, 1969 and 1975

	Graduate students		Undergraduates	
	1969	1975	1969	1975
A or A-	6	12	2	8
A-	12	18	6	11
B+	22	24	11	18
B	20	19	17	22
B-	21	14	20	15
C+	16	11	2[illegible]	15
C	3	3	16	10
C- and below			6	